

Message Text

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ACTION EA-13

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ISO-00 SAM-01 SP-01 PM-03 CIAE-00 INR-10

NSAE-00 RSC-01 NSC-07 NSCE-00 IO-03 L-02 DODE-00

DRC-01 /057 W

----- 061974

R 180852Z JUN 74

FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2704

INFO AMEMBASSY SEOUL

US MISSION USUN NEW YORK 1764

CINCPAC HONOLULU HI

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 TOKYO 8007

LIMDIS

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR PINT KS JA

SUBJ: CURRENT ROK-JAPAN RELATIONS

REF: SEOUL 3835

SUMMARY: GOJ HAS WORKED HARD, AND EFFECTIVELY, TO DAMPEN EMOTIONS ON CASES OF KIM, HAYAKAWA AND TACHIKAWA, AND REMIND PUBLIC OF SOVEREIGN RIGHTS OF ROKG OVER OWN DOMESTIC AFFAIRS. PRIMARY DIFFICULTY NOW IS OVER HOW ROKG WILL HANDLE TRIAL OF TWO JAPANESE, AND WHETHER QTE POLITICAL UNQTE SOLUTION CAN BE ARRANGED AFTER THEIR PRESUMED CONVICTION AND SENTENCING. GOJ APPEARS NOT TO HAVE DEVISED SCENARIO BY WHICH THIS OBJECTIVE COULD BE ACHIEVED. WHILE GOJ FEELS SOMEWHAT MISLED BY ROKG ON KIM CASE, IT IS MORE PUZZLED AS TO WHY ROKG CHOSE TO REVIVE IT AT THIS TIME.

WITHIN COMING QUARTER, THREE ISSUES WILL ARISE REQUIRING THAT TWO GOVERNMENTS COOPERATE. WHETHER ATMOSPHERE IN JAPAN WILL BE SUCH AS TO PERMIT GOJ TO TAKE CONSTRUCTIVE POSITIONS

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DEPENDS ON WHETHER ROKG HANDLING OF CASES IS PUBLICLY TOLERABLE

AND SOLUTION MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE TO TWO GOVERNMENTS IS REACHED.
END SUMMARY.

1. AFTER TWO MONTHS HYPERVENTILATION OF CHARGES, COUNTER-CHARGES, ACCUSATIONS, DENIALS, JUSTIFICATIONS, ETC. CENTERING ON FIGURES OF KIM TAE JUNG AND JAPANESE NATIONALS HAYAKAWA AND TACHIKAWA, TEMPORARY LULL APPEARS TO HAVE DESCENDED IN JAPAN AT LEAST ON PUBLIC FRONT. WE WISH TO SEIZE THIS FLEETING OPPORTUNITY TO MAKE SOME SUMMARY OBSERVATIONS ON HOW MATTERS APPEAR FROM TOKYO, AND WHAT ARE LIKELY TO BE NEAR TERM EFFECTS ON JAPAN-ROK RELATIONS.

2. FIRST IS MATTER OF JAPANESE MEDIA TREATMENT. AS IS WELL KNOWN, JAPANESE PRESS HARBORS DEEP-SEATED ANTIPATHIES TO PARK GOVERNMENT, BASED ON POLITICAL/IDEOLOGICAL DIFFERENCES, CONVICTION THAT JAPANESE PRESS FREEDOM HAS BEEN CIRCUMSCRIBED IN KOREA, AND UNACKNOWLEDGED BUT NONE LESS REAL PROPRIETARY, PERHAPS COLONIALIST CONDESCENSION TO ANY ROK GOVERNMENT. RESULT IS THAT JAPANESE PRESS HOLDS FIELD DAY ON ALMOST ANY ISSUE WHICH ARISES IN JAPAN-ROK RELATIONS.

3. CLOSELY RELATED IS ATTITUDE OF OPPOSITION PARTIES, WHICH HAVE ADDITIONAL INCENTIVE, PARTICULARLY WHILE DIET IS IN SESSION, OF HARASSING GOJ AND EXPLOITING EVENTS FOR PURELY PARTISAN PURPOSES. THIS IS NOT TO SAY, HOWEVER, THAT PRESS AND OPPOSITION HAVE BEEN ENTIRELY CYNICAL IN ADDRESSING CASES OF KIM TAE JUNG, HAYAKAWA AND TACHIKAWA, BECAUSE THEIR INTEREST IS ALSO MOTIVATED BY DEDICATION TO DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES WHICH HAVE BEEN VIOLATED.

4. UNDOUBTEDLY VAST MAJORITY OF JAPANESE -- AND GOJ -- BELIEVE KIM TAE JUNG IS BEING DEPRIVED OF FUNDAMENTAL LIBERTIES WITHOUT LEGITIMATE CAUSE, AND THAT RESUMPTION OF TRIAL ON SUPERANNUATED CHARGES SIMPLY REFLECTS PARANOIA OF PRESIDENT PARK. ACTIVITIES OF LDP DIET MEMBER UTSUNOMIYA, NOW VISITING US TO SEEK ASSISTANCE IN CAMPAIGN TO FREE KIM, ARE CERTAINLY IN TUNE WITH BROAD POPULAR SENTIMENT, MUCH AS THEY MAY COMPLICATE DELICATE POSITION OF GOJ IN WORKING TOWARD SOLUTIONS WITH ROKG. MAJORITY OPINION IS LESS COMMITTED TO CAUSE OF HAYAKAWA AND TACHIKAWA, PRESUMABLY FOR REASON THAT
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THEY MAY BE GUILTY AS CHARGED FOR MEDDLING IN DOMESTIC KOREAN POLITICS.

5. UNDER THESE CIRCUMSTANCES, GOJ HAS GONE TO REMARKABLE LENGTHS TO DAMPEN TENDENCIES OF PRESS AND OPPOSITION TO INDULGE IN PROVOCATIVE ASSERTIONS AND SPECULATION, WHILE ASSERTING CONTINUING INTEREST IN FATE OF KIM AND RESPONSIBILITY FOR TWO JAPANESE. PRIMIN TANAKA, FONMIN OHIRA, FONOFF VICE

MINISTER TOGO AND ALL OTHER GOJ OFFICIALS, IN BOTH PUBLIC STATEMENTS AND PRESS BACKGROUNDEES, HAVE BEEN PUNCTILIOUS IN STRESSING SOVEREIGN RIGHT OF ROKG IN ALL MATTERS RELATING TO DOMESTIC AFFAIRS, INCLUDING PUBLIC SECURITY AND DOMESTIC TRANQUILITY. GOJ OFFICIALS HAVE ALSO PRECISELY INDICATED PARAMETERS OF GOJ RESPONSIBILITY FOR PROTECTING RIGHTS OF ITS NATIONALS ABROAD. THESE EFFORTS APPEAR TO HAVE SUCCEEDED, INsofar AS SUBJECT DID NOT DISRUPT DIET PROCEEDINGS IN FINAL DAYS BEFORE ADJOURNMENT, NOR HAS GOJ BEEN PUSHED INTO PUBLIC ADMONITIONS DIRECTED AT ROKG.

6. SITUATION BEHIND SCENES IN GOJ IS ONLY SLIGHTLY DIFFERENT. WE HAVE IT FROM SEVERAL EXCELLENT AUTHORITIES THAT GOJ IS MAKING SERIOUS EFFORT TO PREVENT THESE CASES FROM HARMING BASIC GOJ-ROKG RELATIONS. FIRST LINE OF ACTION, AS NOTED ABOVE, HAS BEEN CAMPAIGN TO CALM PUBLIC OPINION. IN THIS CONNECTION IT HAS BEEN IMPORTANT FOR GOJ PUBLICLY TO DEMONSTRATE WILLINGNESS TO ACT WITHIN LEGITIMATE BOUNDS OF CONCERN, HENCE QUIET MISSIONS TO SEOUL BY FORMER VICE MIN HOGEN AND ASIAN AFFAIRS DIRGEN TAKASHIMA, AS WELL AS CONTINUING DIALOG WITH ROKG CARRIED ON THROUGH AMB USHIROKU AND JAPANESE EMBASSY.

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ACTION EA-13

INFO OCT-01 IO-03 ISO-00 SS-20 NSC-07 NSCE-00 SAM-01 SP-01

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DRC-01 /063 W

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R 180852Z JUN 74

FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2705

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 TOKYO 8007

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7. PRIMARY HURDLE AT THIS POINT IS ROKG TRIAL OF TWO JAPANESE. GOJ IS RELIEVED THAT ALTHOUGH TRIAL IS BEING HELD PURSUANT TO

EMERGENCY ORDER AND ACCORDING TO COURT MARTIAL PROCEDURES, FAMILIES OF ACCUSED AND EMBASSY REP HAVE BEEN PERMITTED TO ATTEND. GOJ IS RESIGNED TO FACT IT CAN DO NOTHING MORE UNTIL COURT REACHES DECISION AND SENTENCE IS IMPOSED. ALL OUR CONTACTS WITHIN GOJ INDICATE AT THAT POINT GOJ EXPECTS SOME QTE POLITICAL UNQTE SOLUTION TO EMERGE, IDEALLY EXPULSION OF TWO JAPANESE FROM KOREA WITHOUT THEIR HAVING TO SERVE WHATEVER SENTENCE IS IMPOSED. WE HAVE REPEATEDLY PROBED FOR GOJ VIEWS ON WHAT SCENARIO MIGHT ACCOMPLISH THIS OBJECTIVE, BUT SO FAR WITHOUT RESULT. IN FACT, WE HAVE IMPRESSION THAT GOJ VIEWS AT THIS STAGE CONTAIN LARGE ELEMENT OF WISHFUL THINKING, AND THAT NOT MUCH SERIOUS ATTENTION HAS BEEN GIVEN TO PRICE ROKG MIGHT EXTRACT FOR RELATIVELY QUICK AND PAINLESS DENOUEMENT DESIRED BY GOJ.

8. CURRENTLY, KIM CASE IS ATTRACTING LESS ATTENTION IN JAPAN THAN THAT OF HAYAKAWA AND TACHIKAWA. WE DETECT CONSIDERABLE AMBIVALENCE ON THIS SUBJECT WITHIN GOJ, DESPITE CONVICTION THAT ROKG IS GUILTY AT LEAST OF HAVING MISLED GOJ IN DECEMBER 1973 INTO BELIEVING THAT KIM WOULD NOT BE FURTHER MOLESTED. FOR EXAMPLE, ASIAN AFFAIRS DIRGEN TAKASHIMA TOLD CONFIDENTIAL

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DEP ASST SEC SNEIDER THAT FONOFF BELIEVES ROKG IS COMMITTED IN PRINCIPLE BUT NOT NECESSARILY IN PRACTICE TO LET KIM LEAVE KOREA, BUT THAT THIS COMMITMENT WOULD BE VIOLATED IF HE IS CONVICTED AND JAILED. FROM THIS AND OTHER COMMENTS, WE HAVE IMPRESSION GOJ WAS NOT ANXIOUS TO HAVE KIM CASE REVIVED; RATHER, IT IS PUZZLED AS TO WHY ROKG CHOSE THAT COURSE AT THIS TIME.

9. FONOFF UNDERSTANDS VERY REAL SECURITY PROBLEMS FACED BY SOUTH KOREA, AND REGRETS INABILITY OF GOJ TO PREVENT JAPAN FROM BEING USED AS BASE OF OPERATIONS BY ELEMENTS HOSTILE TO ROKG. FONOFF IS SKEPTICAL, HOWEVER, THAT ACTIVITIES OF HAYAKAWA AND TACHIKAWA, WHILE ILL ADVISED AND INDEED REPREHENSIBLE, WERE AS SINISTER AS ROKG HAS CHARGED. INSTEAD, FONOFF BELIEVES ROKG IS INTENTIONALLY EXAGGERATING SINCE IT LACKS OTHER EVIDENCE TO SUPPORT SWEEPING ALLEGATIONS OF DPRK PLOTS AGAINST SOUTH, AND THAT TO BOLSTER FURTHER ITS WEAK CASE, IS WILLFULLY FANNING ANTI-JAPANESE SENTIMENT.

10. ALTHOUGH IT IS GOJ INTENTION THAT RECENT UPROAR NOT AFFECT BASIC GOJ-ROKG RELATIONS, THERE IS SOME DOUBT IN FONOFF AS TO WHAT WILL ACTUALLY TRANSPIRE. WITHIN COMING QUARTER, TWO GOVERNMENTS SHOULD CONSULT AND REACH AGREEMENT IN THREE MAJOR AREAS:(A) LEVEL OF JAPANESE ASSISTANCE FOR NEXT YEAR, TO BE DECIDED AT ECONOMIC MINISTERS' MEETING TENTATIVELY SCHEDULED FOR AUGUST OR SEPTEMBER; (B) TIMING AND AGENDA FOR NEXT

ANNUAL GOJ-ROKG MINISTERIAL CONFERENCE; AND (C) NATURE AND DEGREE OF JAPAN'S SUPPORT FOR KOREAN POSITION AT UNGA. DEPARTMENT WILL RECALL THAT DURING 1973, ERUPTION OF KIM CASE CAUSED ANNUAL MINISTERIAL CONFERENCE TO BE POSTPONED FOUR MONTHS UNTIL TEMPORARY UNDERSTANDING ON THAT SUBJECT WAS REACHED.

11. KEY TO SITUATION RESTS LARGELY WITH ROKG, SPECIFICALLY, ULTIMATE DISPOSITION OF CASES INVOLVING KIM AND TWO JAPANESE, IN GOJ VIEW, IF ROKG WISHES TO AVOID POISONING ATMOSPHERE TO DEGREE THAT WOULD PRECLUDE GOJ FROM ADOPTING CONSTRUCTIVE STANCE ON THREE IMPENDING ISSUES NOTED ABOVE, IT SHOULD CONDUCT TRIALS AND SENTENCING IN MANNER WHICH IS NOT BLATANTLY OFFENSIVE TO CONFIDENTIAL

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JAPANESE PUBLIC CONCEPTIONS OF JUSTICE. FOR ITS PART, GOJ APPEARS PREPARED TO MAKE SOME CONCESSIONS AS YET UNDETERMINED TO ACHIEVE QTE POLITICAL UNQTE SOLUTION. HOWEVER, FONOFF HAS POINTED OUT TO US THAT INTENSITY OF PUBLIC INTEREST PRECLUDES GOVERNMENT FROM BEHIND SCENES MANEUVERING AND DEALS OF SORT THAT WOULD NOT WITHSTAND PUBLIC SCRUTINTY. (IN VIEW OF RECENT INCIDENTS, NORTHEAST ASIA DIVISION TELLS US EVEN TELEGRAMS ARE DRAFTED WITH POSSIBILITY IN MIND THAT THEY MAY LEAK TO PRESS.) ALTERNATIVE WORST CASE WOULD OCCUR IF ROKG WERE TO IMPOSE HARSH SENTENCES ON ALL THREE DEFENDANTS AND SPURN GOJ ATTEMPTS TO REACH MIDDLE GROUND. IN THAT EVENTUALITY, GOJ WOULD FIND IF IMPOSSIBLE TO SCHEDULE MINISTERIAL LEVEL MEETINGS WITH ROKG, UNDERTAKE NEW AIR COMMITMENTS, OR TAKE OTHER THAN RELATIVELY PASSIVE ROLE ON KOREAN QUESTION AT UNGA, NOT ONLY BECAUSE OF PUBLIC AND OPPOSITION PARTY PRESSURES, BUT BECAUSE OF OPPOSITION WITHIN LDP AND GOJ ITSELF.

12. IN SUM, GOJ APPEARS POISED TO WORK WITH ROKG TOWARD SOME SOLUTION OF THEIR DIFFERENCES OVER KIM, HAYAKAWA AND TACHIKAWA TRIALS, AND THEREBY HEAD OFF ADVERSE REACTION IN JAPAN WHICH WOULD SERIOUSLY INHIBIT GOJ ABILITY TO ACT POSITIVELY ON AID AND KOREAN QUESTION AT UNGA. WHETHER ROKG IS IN SAME FRAME OF MIND REMAINS TO BE SEEN.
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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: FOREIGN RELATIONS, TRIALS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 18 JUN 1974
Decaption Date: 28 MAY 2004
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: WorrelSW
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1974TOKYO08007
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D740158-0416
From: TOKYO
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1974/newtext/t19740634/aaaabcbx.tel
Line Count: 267
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION EA
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: LIMDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: LIMDIS
Reference: SEOUL 3835
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: WorrelSW
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 01 JUL 2002
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <01 JUL 2002 by kelleyw0>; APPROVED <18 MAR 2003 by WorrelSW>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: CURRENT ROK-JAPAN RELATIONS
TAGS: PFOR, PINT, KS, JA, (KIM TAE JUNG), (HAYAKAWA), (TACHIKAWA)
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005